

A
L E T T E R

T O A

M E M B E R, &c.

C O N C E R N I N G T H E

C o n d e m n d L o r d s,

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V i n d i c a t i o n o f G e n t l e m e n C a l u m -
n i a t e d i n t h e S t. J a m e s ' s P o s t
o f F r i d a y M a r c h t h e 2 d.

L O N D O N,

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[P r i c e T H R E E P E N C E,]

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CONSTITUTION

OF THE UNITED STATES

ARTICLE I

SECTION 1

ALL LEGISLATIVE POWERS

SHALL BE VESTED IN A

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES

WHICH SHALL CONSIST OF A

SENATE AND HOUSE OF

REPRESENTATIVES

THEir



A
L E T T E R
T O A
M E M B E R, &c.

S I R,



Presume to make this Address to you in Vindication of an Assembly, who, however they differ in other Particulars, agree in the most profound Respect for you: For which Reason, as well as that you preside in it, and are the Representative of it, I lay before you the insolent Treatment received without Doors from the *St. James's Post*, which was published on the 2d Instant. The Matter therein contained is of so nice a Nature, that I dare not, tho' a Person more immediately concerned, go into the Examination of it, except you

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will

will have the Good Nature to allow me a small Postulatum which this Author has taken, to wit, that we are now in *Poland*; for all the Disguise he puts on is, to date *Sandomir* instead of the Place in which we imagined our selves to have been in, at the Time the Things he talks of were transacted.

You are used to the Method of commending a Man's self at the Beginning of what he has to say, and therefore will not be surprized that in the Entrance of this Epistle I profess that I have long devoted my self to the Service of my Country, and am very much unconcerned at what possibly can be said of me, but as it may impair the little Ability I have to do that Service: And therefore, as I am in the most licentious Manner represented as a Malecontent, waging War with Men in Authority, and brib'd to defend our Enemies, I am oblig'd to stop, as well as I can, the Course of so malicious a Scandal. I beg of you again to remember we are in *Poland*, and with that Allowance admit me to say, I gave up, both in my Opinion and Discourse, the Condemn'd Persons, as Authors and Leaders of the Rebellion, and consider'd 'em only as Leaders of the Submission, which is all I pretended to urge in their Behalf: But that the Advantage of this Submission shou'd be carry'd as far as it cou'd go, I thought it highly concern'd the Honour of His Majesty, and the Dignity of His Government.

“ The Prisoners submitted to the King, at that Time undoubtedly
 “ ly capable of shewing them Mercy: When they were in Custody
 “ of the Government, they were Impeach'd by our Assembly: As no
 “ one ever imagin'd that Men, in their Circumstances, were the
 “ natural Objects of Impeachments, or such as were intended by
 “ the famous Act in that Behalf, so there was no Reason, but the
 “ Necessity of Affairs, which could move the House to take the Pro-
 “ secution out of its ordinary Course: Now that Necessity is over,
 “ I thought it for the Honour of the King, that the Criminals
 “ should be capable of that Mercy to which they submitted; Other-
 “ wise our Enemies would have it to say, that the Prisoners were
 “ brought into their present Circumstances by an Artifice: Out of
 “ Hopes of the King's Mercy they submitted; but the Interposi-
 “ tion of the Legislature made them incapable of that Mercy;
 “ so that this Circumstance of the Impeachment hurt the Preroga-
 “ tive.

“ tive in its most amiable Instance, that of Forgiveness, and rob’d
 “ the Subject of the most valuable Effect of it, the receiving
 “ that Forgiveness.——

“ When the Enemy was put to Flight, and all those Reasons
 “ ceas’d, which induc’d the Legislature, for the common Safe-
 “ ty, to make this Step, which so much concern’d the Prero-
 “ gative of the Prince, and Liberty of the Subject; I thought it
 “ my Duty, in Regard to the highest and meanest of Mankind,
 “ to act as I did.

“ These, Sir, were my true Motives for desiring, that some-
 “ thing might be done to extricate unhappy Men, who had no-
 “ thing to plead, in Stay of Execution, but Submission and Ac-
 “ knowledgement of their Guilt. As inconsiderable as that Plea
 “ was, it was necessary and just that it should be made before
 “ a Power capable of admitting or rejecting it; till this was done,
 “ had the Prisoners more to offer, to merit the Favour of their
 “ King and Country, they could promise themselves no good Ef-
 “ fect for that Service, since, according to some Men’s Apprehen-
 “ sion, there was no Power in being legally capable of rewarding
 “ it with Mercy— This I thought an Interruption of Govern-
 “ ment itself: It is for these Thoughts, and these Sentiments, that I
 “ am publicly Calumniated, and suffer the same Usage for defend-
 “ ing the Honour of the King and His Government, now he is on
 “ the Throne, as I did for doing my Part towards securing his Ac-
 “ cession to it.—— I have not enter’d into the Question, Whe-
 “ ther the Prisoners are Objects of Mercy, or not: I have contend-
 “ ed only, That, if they were, or should become Objects of Mer-
 “ cy, the King might have it in his Power, as well as I am sure
 “ it is in his Inclination, to bestow it, when deserv’d.

“ It would have been an endless Reproach to have had such an Im-
 “ perfection appear’d in our Government, As that there was an
 “ Instant wherein the Power of Punishing or Pardoning, for the
 “ Good of the Whole, was lodged no where; As the Thing stood
 “ in common Acceptation, The whole State was under a Difficul-
 “ ty and Incapacity of Action, as it should think fit for its own

“ Good and Safety ; and it was every Gentleman’s Duty to ob-
 “ serve and propose what he apprehended was for its Service in that
 “ Perplexity.

“ But the Matter, from the Discussion of it among the *Patricians* and *Plebeians*, has taken another Turn ; and we have
 “ seen *Punishment and the Suspension of it*, upon the Condemned Lords,
 “ in this Exigence of Affairs, exerted by that Power, in which it
 “ was always lodg’d by the Constitution of the Realm ; and what-
 “ ever may be the future Construction of an Article in a certain
 “ Act, I am humbly of Opinion, That, in the present Conjun-
 “ cture, if the Ministers see Cause, they may be well justified by
 “ their Care of the Whole, in advising the King to do what he shall
 “ think proper with the Prisoners.

“ All that I aim’d at is come to pass ; they now stand before a Power
 “ disposed to receive and reward their future Merit and past Sub-
 “ mission : And I am so far from repenting the Part I had in this
 “ Affair, that I should have been a more unhappy Man, if I had
 “ done otherwise ; for I should have had the secret Reproach in
 “ my own Bosom, That, for Fear of being mistaken by the Pow-
 “ erful, I had neglected my Duty to the Miserable.

“ This, Sir, is the Sum of what I had to say, in order to state
 “ my Behaviour before my Countrymen, in a clear View ; and
 “ whether what I have offered, had Weight in it or not ; as to
 “ the Matter then before us, it shows another Motive than that to
 “ which my Behaviour is imputed in the News-Paper. Have your
 “ usual Patience, and permit me to go on.

The *St. James’s-Post* speaking of the *Six Condemn’d Nobles*, and
 intimating that, by distributing large Bribes to several Members,
 their Petitions were receiv’d both by the *Patricians* and *Plebeians*, goes
 on upon me in these Words : *Among the Latter, a Doughty Knight,*
call’d Cavaliero Risko Chalybeski, who over-rating his past Services
to the Saxon Cause, has taken a Disgust against the present Ministry, for
not gratifying his craving Ambition, made a Speech in Behalf of the Peti-
tioners, and exhausted the common Topicks of Clemency and Mercy ; But
 the

the Reputation this Gentleman had formerly gain'd by his Writings, being at a very low Ebb, not only because he had of late made his Pen a common Prostitute, but also by Reason of his own private Extravagances, at the same Time that he assumed to himself the Character of a Publick Censor, no great Stress was laid upon his Thredbare Oratory. On the other Hand, Monsieur Walpeski rightly judging, that the new Friends the condemn'd Lords appear'd to have in that Assembly, were procured by the same Methods which had been ineffectual with himself, rose up and said;

*" He was moved with Indignation, to see that there should be such
 " unworthy Members of that great Body, who could, without
 " Blushing, open their Mouths in Favour of Rebels and Parricides,
 " who, far from making the least Advance towards deserving Favour,
 " by an ingenious Discovery of the bottom of the present horrid Con-
 " spiracy, had rather aggravated their Guilt, both by their sullen
 " Silence, and prevaricating Answers: Adding, That the Count Do-
 " raworwski pretended and affirmed, That he went unprepared and una-
 " wares into this Rebellion, yet, to his certain Knowledge, he had been
 " tampering with several People, to perswade them to rise in Favour
 " of Stanislaus, Six Months before he appear'd in Arms.*

*Monsieur Walpeski was seconded and backed by Seignior Boscalli, Seignior Lescamerino, and General Stanoski: The last said, among other Things, " 'Twas with the most sensible Concern he observed,
 " That the Rebels were grown more formidable, since they were
 " taken and disarmed at Prestopoli, than they were before; for, it
 " seems, they had gained Advocates even among their Prosecutors,
 " and they had found Means to divide an Assembly, which, hitherto,
 " had acted with unparralelled Unanimity and Vigour for the Pub-
 " lick Welfare.*

*It is possible my Frankness in writing for a Cause, wherein they who should support me, traduce and villify my Endeavours, may make Disregard to my own Fame for the Sake of my Country, appear to the Vulgar, Prostitution. But if I have made my self Cheap, I am sure I have not made my self Mercenary: If I were so, I should desire no greater Reward than the Liberty for one Year, which the Post has taken for this Day. Give me but Leave to be at Sandomir when I please, without being called to an Ac-
 count*

count for what I say, in *Middlesex*, and it will soon appear whose *Oratory* is most *Threadbare*; that of those who have long used it, or those who have just began the Practice of it: Such an Indulgence would be an ample Fortune; and the Field is large enough to bring a Crop worth the Labour of the Husbandman: It would soon appear how much of a Man's Eloquence was owing to his Station or his Fortune, and how many Orators there are who think themselves well heard, while they owe their being uninterrupted to the Patience, not the Respect of their Hearers: It would appear that the Present State of Eloquence in *Poland* is at a very low Ebb, and that Warming the House is only Disturbing it: Orators would learn that it does not follow, that because they are in a Passion, other People must be so too: 'Tho' it is finely said by a Great Master, that if you would have me weep, you must your self be in Grief — That will not do of other Passions, and particularly, it would be unfortunate to be angry, to make others fight for you.

Such a Licence would enable a Man to show empty Creatures, that all their Noise is owing to that Emptiness, and a little Admonition might rouse Men of Sense and Modesty to come into Debates, and exert their Reason in Defence of their Country. For certain it is, that in *Poland*, at this time, the Men of the best Sense are Dumb, and the shallowest Persons in the Assembly are most Talkative. Some are Silent from an Oppression under the Choice of a great Deal to say, and others are Eloquent from an Ignorance that what they say is nothing to the Purpose.

I am glad the *Post* has done so much Justice to the Honourable Persons he mentions in the recited Paragraph: I shall not quarrel with him for a great Opinion of Mens Abilities, whom I have endeavoured to celebrate before him; which I should have done perhaps as fortunately as he, if I had had so good Intelligence; for I acknowledge the best Way of applauding so great Orators, is to repeat their very Words. As to what he says of the Under Treasurer, I congratulate the fair Occasion that Great Officer took to refute the false Imputation of Corruption, against which I had always defended him: But I can say at the same time, that no one affronted me so much as with the Attempt to bribe me.

This

This News-Writer makes no Difficulty of accusing a Number of the Diet (which he acknowledges to be by Seven only less than all the rest of the Assembly) of being Enemies to the *Saxon* Line, of being bribed for their Votes, or being Followers of such as were. You know best what is to be done on such an Occasion ; and if so slight an Artifice, as Altering the Scene by a Date of Place and Time, shall shelter a Man in Belying Men of Honour, who are doing their Duty in as nice a Circumstance as perhaps has ever happened, it will be impossible for those who do not comply with the Fashion, right or wrong, to be able to shew their Faces, in their several Countries. As for me, I have frequently declared, That I take all Merit to consist in the Regulation of the Will ; and I will not trouble my self so much as to mention what is said of me as a Writer at low Ebb, and the like. Whoever writes must be liable to whatever any Reader thinks fit to say of him ; but the Case is alter'd when it comes to Facts within the Power of the Will, as in Matters of Justice and Integrity. It is not for me to say how I write, or speak ; but it is for me to say, I do both honestly ; and when I threw away some Fame for Letters and Politeness, to serve the nobler Ends of Justice and Government, I did not do it with a Design to be as negligent of what should be said of me, with relation to my Integrity in Support of those Ends. No ; Wit and Humour are the Dress and Ornament of the Mind ; but Honesty and Truth are the Soul it self, and the Difference in a Man's Care of his Reputation for one and the other, is just in the Proportion that being Rob'd bears to being Murder'd.

I forbear saying any thing in Resentment against the Author himself of this Paper, because I think he has heretofore pointed at me in a kind Way ; but this Instance gives a strong Suspicion, that the present Licence he takes, is supported in some extraordinary Manner ; and I humbly conceive, that for the Honour of Society, you will put us in some way to obviate this first Instance of Outrage in this kind, by making the Printer produce the Author, and the Author his Correspondent, or answer it himself. I presume, Sir, this is more particularly your Charge, because indeed the Offence is more immediately against you, than any other Person : The Pa-

per takes upon it to give an Account of what passes in our House, which is the highest Offence without your Authority, and consequently a Trespass against your Authority.

There are those every Day in your Eye, who have no further Views than doing their Duty in the Place where they stand before you. They know it their Duty without Vanity, Discontent, or Peevishness, in all that is for the Common Good, to support those who have the Honour to serve their Country in Great Stations : But as they are always inclined to act in Concert with them, they are always free to act in Opposition to them. But, Honoured Sir, I beg of you to consider whether this equal Disposition is, possibly, to be maintained, if Men, who have no Hopes of Self-interest in their Actions, must meet with such cruel and false Representations from Writers, who attempt to recommend themselves to Persons in Authority, by Villifying Gentlemen who think it a Misfortune ever to differ from those very Men in Authority, whoever they are or shall be. Sir, Your great good Breeding and Civility in your Private Character, Your Justice and Equanimity in your Publick Station, will suggest much more to you than I can offer in Resentment of this Outrage. It would be an happy Day for your Country if there were more Men like you in great Employments, who can possess what they have with the same Air that they had when they were aiming at it, who can be composed enough to think of every Part of the Duty of their Stations in Preference to the Article of its Income, and acquit themselves to all the World before they think there is any thing due to themselves. This, Sir, I know by long Experience, to be your Temper and Mode of Action ; and this will transmit you to Posterity with Honour and Reputation, with much greater Advantage than you could reap from the Distinction of your Birth, and the Superiority of your Understanding without this Moderation. You possess the greatest Station that your Country could bestow upon you ; and when that ceases, I am so good a Patriot as to wish you the greatest that can be bestowed by your Prince.

But though I am interrupted with the strong Inclination I have to do Justice to you, you must not think I have done by having expressed Civilities towards the Gentleman I was writing to, as if I was at the End of my Letter; for I am called a doughty Knight, and must take Notice, according to the known Obligations of that Order, that *distressed Ladies* are as little spared as unhappy Men by this lawless Writer; The Errors in the Youth of some, and the Vertue and Complacency of others, are equally the Subject of his insipid Scurrility. I have only just mention'd this Circumstance to move your Indignation; but must lay before you a higher Offence, in a graver Tone, when I show you, that the Paper has assumed a Liberty of determining this Question on the Side of the *Pacta Conventa*, as he calls us according to his Gibberish, notwithstanding that the present Practice of those whom he commends is against that Notion. Speaking of the Sorrow of *Dorowatski*, he presumes to say as follows; "The King, who is the best natur'd Prince in the Universe, was touch'd with so moving a Sight, very kindly bid her rise, and said, *He was concern'd for her just Affliction*: But afterwards let her understand, That the *Pacta Conventa*, by which His Majesty was call'd to the Succession, was an *Invincible Bar* to his *natural Clemency*; and that the *Diet* having made this PROSECUTION their own, His Majesty did not think it proper for him to interpose in so nice an Affair; which he could not do neither, without shaking the very *Foundation* of his Title to the Crown.

There must be a Way found, if we would preserve any Thing that is valuable, to put an end to this Mixture of Arrogance, Indiscretion, and Ignorance. There is not much more in the Letter, except Personal and Domestick Reflections on me, which I have not observed to you, without it were worth while to take Notice, that he says I exhausted upon the Occasion the *common Topicks of Clemency and Mercy*; which last Assertion I deny with all my Might; for I never talked of Mercy and Clemency, but for the Sake of my King and Country, in whose Behalf I dare to say, That to be afraid to forgive, is as low as to be afraid to punish; and that all noble Genius's in the Art of Government have less owed their Safety to Punishment and Terror, than Grace and Magnanimity.

I will?

I will trouble you no further ; I am satisfied as to myself with this Remonstrance, and doubt not but every Gentleman of those who inclined one Way, had as good Arguments against the Imputation of an unmanly Softness, as those disposed another had against that of an inhuman Cruelty. I have no Authority to adventure the Injury I may do them in the Repetition of what they offered, but submit what concerns them, as well as the Honour of our whole Proceedings, to your much wiser Consideration.

I am,

S I R,

Your Sincere Admirer, and

Devoted Humble Servant.